

"THE PROGRESS OF THE CENTURY," BY FAMOUS SPECIALISTS.

THIS is the tenth in the series of special articles on the world's development in the past hundred years. It considers modern military affairs, the peace strength of armies, and the significant changes that have been inaugurated. The author has written for the lay reader. It will be followed by others, fourteen in all, which will review the various departments of literature, naval ships, and religion.

SIR CHARLES DILKE.

One of the foremost of English public men is Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, formerly Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He is informed on the politics of Europe, and on the condition of the armies, whose existence has much to do with political conditions. He is the author of "Greater Britain," "Present Position of European Politics," "The British Army," "Problems of Great Britain," "Imperial Defense," with Spencer Wilkinson, and "The British Empire."

As to his special knowledge of military affairs in Europe and America, he has been a student of the time. Sir Charles was educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and was a Scholar of the Hall. He was Senior Legalist, or Head of Law Tripos, in 1865, a position of distinction in the university. After leaving Trinity, he was a barrister in Middle Temple, and was a member of Parliament from 1868 to 1888. From 1889 to 1893 Sir Charles was chairman of the Royal Commission for Negotiations with France, and he was chairman of the Royal Commission for Housing the Working Class, in 1884 and 1885. His second wife is the famous Lady Dilke, author, art critic and active philanthropist.

SUMMARY OF SIR CHARLES DILKE'S ARTICLE.

When it comes to a consideration of the science of warfare, the views of Sir Charles Dilke must be consulted. In the following article he has paid his compliments to the bungling methods of the army of Great Britain, and exposed its most important weaknesses.

Fundamental Conditions.

With a firm hand he has swept the horizon clear of every outline that is likely to interfere with a good view of the fundamental conditions of military affairs, and then he has brought out these latter objects into strong relief. For the lay reader's special pleasure it must be remarked that he is not technical. He has viewed the matter in a plain, common-sense sort of a way, a very effective method, and one that brings conviction.

Armies of Germany and France.

Sir Charles tells why he has taken the armies of France and Germany as his standards of measurement. He looks over the struggle of weapons, and the differences in the practice of military tactics because of changes in weapons. He talks about the peace strength of modern armies, and discusses the systems of the various European countries.

The Army's Stomach.

According to Sir Charles, the possibility, or, more properly speaking, the necessity, of the rapid mobilization of armies, is the great change of the century. In this connection the equipment of the army is of paramount importance. Napoleon's historic remark that an army "travels on its stomach" will have an especial significance. The armies of the future will "fight on their stomachs." Sir Charles calls attention to the tendency of massing enormous bodies of men, and continuing the battle over several days. And here comes in the difficulty of feeding this large body of men.

As a last word, Sir Charles declares that enormous military organizations are not an unmixed evil, and explains why.

Warfare.

The editor has asked me to write upon the military progress of the century, but it is doubtful how far, even if as civilians we get over our natural dislike of talking military change as "progress," there has been any considerable advance in the larger aspects of military science within the century. The genius of Bonaparte, working upon the foundations laid by Frederick the Great, established a century ago principles which are essentially applicable to the military matters of the present day; and although the scientific developments of artillery and musketry have affected the dispositions of battlefields, the essential principles of the art of preparation for war and of strategy stand where they stood before.

Scharnhorst was the Prussian officer who began to reduce the Napoleonic military system to rules applicable to the use of German armies. Under Bonaparte the whole management of the army was too often concentrated in the hands of the man of genius, and the actual method of Napoleon had the defect that, failing the man of genius at the head of the army, it broke down. The main change made by the Germans, who followed Scharnhorst, in the course of the century has been to codify the Napoleonic system so that it was possible to more generally decentralize in practice without impairing its essence. They have also established a division of its supply department (under a Minister of War) from the "brain of the army," which manages the preparation for the strategy of war, and the strategy itself. These so-called Prussian principles of decentralization and "initiative" are, however, not new and not Prussian, and may be discovered in the conversations of Napoleon Bonaparte. The French in 1870 had forgotten his teaching, and the Germans had retained it. It is, nevertheless, the case that the number of powers having increased, the intelligent initiative of corps commanders and even of Generals commanding divisions has become the more essential. It is impossible that the great general staff can give orders in advance which will cover the responsibility of all the inferior Generals, and brains have to be added in all ranks to obedience. The commander-in-chief in the field cannot with advantage draw himself in details, and he can only provide in his orders an outline sketch which his subordinates in various parts of the field of operations have to fill in. The "initiative of subordinates" is but the natural division of labor.

If the editor has called on me, a civilian student of military politics rather than on a military expert, it must be because he desires to bring largely into the account the changes in military organization which on the Continent of Europe have made it permanently national, and which in the United States made it temporarily national during the Civil War, and would make it so again in the event of any fresh struggle on a great scale in which the North American Continent might become involved.

Although the "Armed Nation" has replaced in France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Roumania, and Bulgaria the smaller professional armies of the eighteenth century, the popular belief that the numerical strength of field armies has enormously increased is not completely unfounded as at first sight.

might be supposed. It is true that each nation can put into the entire field of warfare larger numbers than that nation could put into the field a century ago. But it is still not beyond the bounds of possibility that in certain cases small armies may produce results as remarkable as those which attended British operations in the Peninsula in the early part of the Nineteenth Century; and, on the other hand, although there will, upon the whole, in future Continental wars be larger armies in the field, no one General is likely personally to handle or to place upon a field of battle a larger army than that with which Napoleon traversed Europe before he invaded Russia.

Theory of the "Armed Nation."

The principles of pure military science as set forth in books have not been greatly changed during the Nineteenth Century. The Prussian Clausewitz only explained for us the doctrines of Bonaparte; and the latest writers—such as the Frenchmen Deceagals and Lewal—only continue Clausewitz. The theory of the armed nation has received extension, but after all the Prussian system in its essentials dates from Jena, and the steps by which it has produced the admirable existing armies of France, Austria and Roumania have been but slow.

The United States stand apart. Their resources are so fabulously great that they alone are able to wait for war before making war preparations. No Power will attack the United States. The Powers will submit to many things and yield many strong points rather than fight the United States. The only territorial neighbors of the Republic are not only not in a position to enter into military rivalry with her on the American Continent, but are not advancing their military establishments with the growth of their population. They are of themselves not only unable to attack, but equally unable in the long run effectively to resist her.

The whole question, then, unfortunately for us Europeans is a European question, and I need make but little reference to happier lands across the greater sea, and only because life is cheap in Ireland and the country healthy and well fitted for the drill and discipline of troops, has been chiefly a nursery for the white army in India, and will be for that in South Africa. The expeditions which the country is obliged to send from time to time across the sea have but a domestic interest, and are unimportant when viewed from a world-wide military standpoint. In the event of war the attention of the country would be concentrated upon her fleets, with a view to retain that command of the sea without which her old-fashioned army would be useless.

Belgium has an old-fashioned army of another type. A small force of conscripts is "drawn," and the men are allowed to

find substitutes for money. But Belgium and the other smaller Powers, except Switzerland, Roumania and Bulgaria, may be neglected in our survey. Switzerland has developed an excellent army of a special local type; a cheap, but highly efficient militia, the most interesting point about which is that, while field artillery is supposed to be difficult of creation and only to be obtained upon a costly and regular system, Switzerland produces an excellent field artillery upon a militia footing. The national militia of Great Britain have longer training than the field artillery of the Swiss Federation, but the results of the training are very different. Similarly, while cavalry is supposed to be in the same position as artillery in these matters, Hungary produces a good cavalry upon a militia system. It is, however, to the native army of India that we have to turn if we want to see what long service cavalry in past centuries used to be, for in these days of shorter service cavalry at least has suffered a decline, and so far from cavalry, on the whole, presenting us with a picture of military progress in the century, the cavalry of the present day is not to be compared with the cavalry of the past. Roumania and Bulgaria, although small countries, have remarkable armies of the most modern type, of great strength when considered proportionately to their populations, but these need not come under our examination, because substantially they are on the Prussian plan.

Cavalry Has Declined in These Days.

Russia differs from Germany, France and Austria in having an immense peace army. Her peace army is indeed as large as that of the whole of the Triple Alliance, and the enormous distances of Russia and the difficulties of mobilization and concentration force her into the retention and development of a system which is now peculiar to herself. The armies of Russia resemble more closely (although on a far larger scale) the old armies of the time before the changes which followed 1866 than the French, German and Austrian armies of today. Italy is decreasing her army and has been driven by her financial straits to completely spoil a system which was never good except on paper. It is doubtful whether now in a sudden war the Italians could put into the field any thoroughly good troops, except their Alpine battalions, which are equal to those of the French. The Austrian system does not differ sufficiently from that of Germany and of France to be worthy special note, although it may be said in passing that the Austrian Army is now considered by competent observers to be excellent. We may take as our type of the armies of to-day those of Germany and of France. These armies are also normal as regards their cost. Great Britain having no conscription, and being in the habit of paying dearly for all services, is extravagant in her military expenditure for the results obtained. Switzerland, improved after the experiences of 1866 and again after those of 1870, is explained in the work of Von der Goltz, "The Nation in Arms." Those who would follow these principles into their detailed application, and see how the armies are divided between and nourished and supplied from the military districts of one of the great powers, will find the facts set forth in such publications as the illustrated "Annuaire of the French Army," published each year by Pion, Norrit et Cie, or in the official handbooks published by the Librairie Militaire Baudouin.

In the time of Bonaparte and even in the time of the Second Empire in France army corps were of varying strength, and there was no certain knowledge on the part of administrators as to the exact numbers of the troops which existed in Germany, France and Russia even in time of peace with all their Generals and staff named ready for war. In each of the great military countries the army is guided by the counsel of a general staff. Around the chief of the staff and the Minister of War are the "Generals of armies," and in France a potential generalissimo (who on the outbreak of war would often be superseded by another General in the actual command). In the case of Germany the command would now be exercised by the young Emperor. In the case of France it would be exercised by the generalissimo with the chief of the staff as his "Berthier" or Major General. Enormously important duties in the case of armies so unwieldy as the entire force of the first line and of the second line in Germany or France and of the first line in Russia would be exercised by the "Generals of armies." These Generals in time of peace are called "Inspectors of Armies" in France, Germany and Austria, and they inspect groups of army corps which would be united in war to form the armies which these Generals would actually command. These Generals also form the council of war, or principal promotion board and committee of advice for the generalissimo and chief of the staff. In Germany and in Austria-Hungary the German Emperor and the Emperor-King respectively are virtual general inspectors-in-chief of the whole army, but in France and in Russia there is less unity of command. The Minister of War in Russia, in Germany and in France is intended to be at the head of the supplies of the army in time of war, directing the administration from the capital and not taking his place in the field.

Modern Military System in Germany and France.

Those who would study the French or German Army for themselves will find a large literature on the subject. The principles which govern the establishment of an armed nation upon the modern Prussian plan, improved after the experiences of 1866 and again after those of 1870, are explained in the work of Von der Goltz, "The Nation in Arms." Those who would follow these principles into their detailed application, and see how the armies are divided between and nourished and supplied from the military districts of one of the great powers, will find the facts set forth in such publications as the illustrated "Annuaire of the French Army," published each year by Pion, Norrit et Cie, or in the official handbooks published by the Librairie Militaire Baudouin.

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England's Poor Equipment in Fighting Strength.

The cost of the system of a modern army is very much less than that of the old-fashioned armies. The United Kingdom spent last year (including loan money) about £10,000,000 upon her army. India rarely spends more than £1,000,000, and the United Kingdom and India, £2,000,000, or an average of £3,000,000 in all upon land forces. The expenditure of the United Kingdom upon land forces has been permanently increased to an enormous extent by the South African war and cannot now be estimated. The land forces of France are greatly less, and of Russia, large as is her peace army, less again. But France and Germany in the event of war can immediately each of them place millions of armed men in the field in proper army formation and with adequate command, whereas the United Kingdom can place a doubtful three corps in the field in the event of a sudden outbreak of war. In the case of the United Kingdom the army is not so well organized for all at once without an incredible amount of reorganization and waste of time after the declaration of war. It is contended by the authorities responsible for the British Army that two army corps could be placed in the field at home, and equipped for the purpose, but the facts are as I state them, and not as they are professed to be. It is pretended that three corps of Regulars were dispatched to South Africa. But the cavalry and artillery were in fact created by lavish expenditure a long time after the war had begun and after disasters caused by their inexperience. Centralized as is the administrative system of France and Germany in everything except war, the necessities of modern warfare have forced upon the Governments of those countries a large amount of decentralization as concerns military matters, and the less efficient military machinery of the United Kingdom is the more efficient machinery of Germany and of France. The army corps districts have in the latter countries so much autonomy as to recall to the political student the Federal organization of the United States rather than the Government of a highly centralized modern power. As soon, however, as war breaks out, the military States of time of peace would be grouped, and the four or five groups known as "armies," also, of course, theoretically, brought together under the directing eye of the generalissimo. In the case, at all events, of Germany, unity of

direction is perfectly combined with decentralization and individual initiative.

Rapidity of Mobilization the Great Change of the Century.

The mode in which a modern army on the anticipation of war prepares itself for the field is extraordinarily rapid in point of time, as compared with the mode found necessary in the time of Napoleon Bonaparte; and it is this rapidity of mobilization and concentration which strikes the observer as the greatest change of progress of the century in connection with armies. It is a mere consequence of railroads and telegraphs, and is only the application to military purposes of those increased facilities of locomotion which have played so great a part in the progress of the century. Mobilization is, of course, the union at points fixed beforehand of the men of the reserves, who bring the army up to its war strength, and the clothing and equipment of those men and the distribution to the mobilized regiments of their full materials of war. The cavalry and horse artillery kept upon the frontier are now in a condition of permanent readiness in the principal military countries, as they would be used to cover the mobilization of the remainder of the army. The moment mobilization is accomplished concentration takes place on the frontier in the case of the principal Powers near the line of concentration are forts, which play a greater part in the French scheme of defence than they do in the German. The French in the days of their weakness, after 1870, both constructed a line of intrenched camps and built a line of wall of China along the most exposed portion of their eastern frontier; whereas, the Germans are prepared to rely upon their frontier, supported by a few intrenched camps, such as those (on their western frontier) of Metz and Strasbourg. The French keep in front of their fortresses at Nancy a strong division, which is virtually always on a war footing, and both in France and Germany the frontier corps are at a higher peace strength than those of the interior, and are more ready to take the field at once, so as to help the cavalry and horse artillery to protect the mobilization and concentration of the remainder, and, if possible, to disturb the mobilization and concentration of the foe. Those who would study modern armies for themselves should visit Nancy and Metz, but should not neglect the Swiss annual maneuvers.

The work of the recruit of Germany and of France, during the two years or nearly three years' training as the case may be, is as hard as any human work; and the populations of the continental countries submit, not on the whole unwillingly, from patriotic motives to a slavery of which the more fortunate inhabitants of the United Kingdom and of the United States have no conception. The British or the Belgian recruit would mutiny if forced to work as hard as the men of the United Kingdom and of the United States have no conception. The enormous loss to many industries which is caused by the withdrawal of the men at the age of 20, just when they are most apt to become skilled workmen, is, in the opinion of some German, compensated for by the habit of discipline and the moral tone of useful and endurance which is communicated to the soldier for the rest of his life. This is perhaps more true of the German character than it is of the inhabitants of the other countries; and in France, at least, the soldier training of the entire population is a heavy drawback to industrial and intellectual life. There are, however, as will be seen, other considerations to be taken into account, some of which tell the other way.

The one successful exception to the prevailing military system of the day is to be found in Switzerland, which has a very cheap army of the militia type, but one which, nevertheless, pronounced efficient by the best judges. The mobilization of Switzerland in 1870 was more rapid than that of either Germany or France, and, great as are the strides that both France and Germany have made in rapidity of organization and as regards numbers since 1870, the Swiss have reorganized their mobilization system since that time and are still able to take the field at a cost to place in the field at least as large a proportional force as Germany, and this force is believed to be efficient, although not largely provided with cavalry.

The great modern armies of France and Germany about 500,000 men each, and the war strength between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 men each. The peace strength of Russia is now over 800,000 men. Of the war armies the training is not uniformly complete, but there are sufficient reserves of clothing and food to equip the war armies of those Powers for the field.

Artillery Development in Battlefields of the Future.

The greatest change in the battlefields of the future as compared with those of a few years ago will be found in the development and increased strength of the artillery. A modern army when it takes up a position has miles of front almost entirely occupied with guns, and the guns have to fire over the infantry, because there is no room for such numbers of guns to be used in any other way. The attacking side (if both, indeed, in one form or another, do not attempt attack) will be chiefly occupied in obtaining positions on which to place its guns, and the repeating rifle itself, deadly as it is, cannot contend at ranges over 1,000 yards, unless the riflemen are heavily equipped, with the improved shrapnel fire of modern guns. The early engagements of a war will indeed be engagements of artillery massed upon the frontier on the second day of mobilization, so rapid will the opening of war in the future be. This cavalry will be accompanied by horse artillery and followed by light infantry, constantly practicing in rapid marching in time of peace, or in the case of the United Kingdom, the fields of the later weeks will be battlefields above all of artillery. The numbers engaged will be so great that the heaviest of all the responsibilities of the Generals will be the feeding of their troops during the battles prolonged during several days, which will probably occur, and it is doubtful how far the old Generals (often grown unwieldy in time of peace) will be able to stand the strain of such a great war. The elements of a war will indeed be courage and in many other elements of force, the great tragedy of Bordonio is the typical battle. Lewal has pointed out that in the battles of the future such equality must be expected: "The battle will begin on the outbreak of war in the operations of the frontier regiments. The great masses as they come to the field will pour into a fight already begun. The battle will be immense and prolonged." Promotion will probably be rapid among the Generals, owing to incompetence and retirement, and certainly among other officers owing to their exposure in these days of smokeless powder, when good shots can pick off officers in a manner unknown in wars which have hitherto occurred. Whether it will be possible to get armies to advance under heavy fire after the officers have been killed is doubtful, when we remember that modern armies consist of the whole population, cowards and brave men alike, and that regimental cohesion is weakened by the sudden infusion of an over-

whelming proportion of reserve men at the last moment.

The Struggle of Weapons.

It has been said that the history of warfare is the history of the struggle among weapons, and that each change in arms and even in strategy has come from scientific changes affecting weapons. In the century we have seen the change from the smooth bore to the rifle and from the ordinary to the repeating rifle. We have seen the modifications of artillery, which are beginning to give an application of the quick-firing principle to field artillery and the use of high explosive shells, likely to affect by their explosion even those who are near the bursting shell and who are not struck by its fragments. Smokeless powder has altered the look of battles and has reduced their noise. It provides excuse for the incompetent. It would be easy, however, to exaggerate the importance of these changes as regards tactics, and still more with regard to strategy, while with tactics we are not here concerned. The great Continental wars of the century have not allowed themselves to be much affected by the changes in the weapons, and many of the modern fads which are adopted in small armies are condemned by the leaders of these great forces. The British machine guns, for example, like British mounted infantry, are generally regarded on the Continent as a fancy of our own. All nations have their military fads, except, perhaps, the severely practical Germans. Russia has its dragon organization, from which it is receding; America has her dynamite gun; the French have their submarine torpedo boats. Our machine guns are not thought much more of by most Prussians than the steam gun of 1844, ridiculed by Dickens in "Martin Chuzzlewit." If great changes have to have been made in the art of war by modern weapons, one would have thought that the first things to disappear would be all vestige of protective armor and the use of cavalry in the field. Yet protective armor has been recently restored to as large a proportion of many armies as used it in the wars of the beginning of the century, and the use of cavalry in the field is defended as vigorously by all the highest authorities on the Continent. My own opinion on such matters is that of a layman and should be worthless, but it agrees with that of several distinguished military writers. I confess that I doubt whether in future wars between great armies, such as those of France and Germany, it will be possible to employ cavalry on the field of battle, and I go so far as to think that the direct offensive, still believed in by the Prussians, will be found to have become too costly to be possible. Our South African experience is not, however, regarded by Continental authorities as conclusive.

The author of "Ironclads in Action," Mr. Wilson, who has made a very thorough study of the future of naval warfare, has set out with great force the most striking difficulties of war in the future as caused by the enormous concentration of forces in a particular tract of country. The result of that concentration must be great difficulties about supply, prolonged battles of an indecisive kind leading to exposure, absence of sleep and to conditions which would form the severest trial for professional men of war, while those who will now be subject to them will be the ordinary population, not very specially warriors, except so far as patriotism may in some cases make up as regards courage and endurance for absence of military tradition. The vast number of wounded will be exposed for longer periods than was the case in many of the earlier wars; but when we remember that out with great force the most striking difficulties of war in the future as caused by the enormous concentration of forces in a particular tract of country. The result of that concentration must be great difficulties about supply, prolonged battles of an indecisive kind leading to exposure, absence of sleep and to conditions which would form the severest trial for professional men of war, while those who will now be subject to them will be the ordinary population, not very specially warriors, except so far as patriotism may in some cases make up as regards courage and endurance for absence of military tradition. 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